ITALIAN IMMIGRANT LIFE In Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1890-1915

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INTRODUCTION

I have concentrated on the exclusively Italian settlements in what is today Roseto, West Bangor, and Martins Creek as well as the Italian elements in the boroughs of Bangor, Pen Argyl, East Bangor, and Wind Gap. Roseto became a borough in 1912. West Bangor and Martins Creek have remained villages. (Please consult the appended map.) I have considered this area as a unit except where I think particular variations should be observed.

The years between 1890 and 1915 generally comprise the time limitations of the study; however, there have been certain extensions. I take 1890 because then the Rosetan settlement was beginning. This "New Italy" settlement was the first significant movement of Italians into Northampton County.[1] I take 1915 as an outside limit because Roseto which was the most important single settlement was incorporated into a borough some twenty-two years after its founding. The extensions go even to 1925 because the settlements in Martins Creek and West Bangor were started at least ten to fifteen years later than Roseto.

The numbers of Italian born residents for Northampton County were as follows: 1890, 341; 1900, 1582; 1910, 3723; 1920, 4427.[2] Until about 1910 the Italian settlement in the County was mainly rural.[3]

The categories selected—family, religion, ceremony, housing, structures, tools, and clothing—have been treated individually. There has been little hesitation, however, in following certain relationships beyond a specific limitation. Such overlapping is probably inevitable especially with a peasant, immigrant community such as the Italian wherein the spiritual, familial, and economic themes are so fundamental and so pervasive. The categories selected are good indicators of the settlement as probably any study of Italians in America will show. Such studies usually include those aspects that would be the most useful in studying the Italian transplantations. These have, therefore, given direction to the paper. Certain general ethnological writings have also influenced the focus of attention given various categories. Thus, I have hoped to deal with those categories revealing of the colony as an immigrant settlement and also as a subculture in itself. These considerations which can not really be disassociated for this study form the basis for the final generalizations on acculturation.

In order to at least approach completeness in each of the categories, I have used the *Outline of Cultural Materials*.[4] The raw material of the immigrants' culture was but a manifestation of their underlying assumptions and implicit beliefs. The philosophical orientations of the immigrants have determined the nature of their settlement as well as those aspects of the surrounding culture they selected. The American culture did not let the immigrants free to follow their own ways and free to select what they wanted. Certain aspects of the Italian settlement were accessible to outside influences. In the categories of material culture and to some extent in religion the Italians welcomed and were prepared to accept what the surrounding culture offered. There was also the influence of individuals bringing the American culture to the Italians from within the immigrant settlement itself.

After laying the descriptive foundation, I have attempted in the conclusion to more closely consider the above statements as they apply to the contact of the Italian and the American cultures.

[1] Northampton County, Assessment Office, *Assessment Records* (Easton: County Archives). A survey of the records indicates when and where the settlements were started.

[2] E. Gordon Alderfer, *Northampton Heritage: The Story of an American County* (State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Valley Publishing Co., 1953), p. 303. The figures check with the U.S. Census reports for the years involved.

[3] *Assessment Records, passim.*

[4] George P. Murdock *et al.*, *Outline of Cultural Materials*, Vol. II:*Yale Anthropological Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

Map of Northampton County "New Italy" settlements referred to in this article.

Photograph of 1902 emigrant, dated 1915.

West Bangor family group, photographed about 1910.

This young woman (photographed 1924) came to America in 1905 at the age of eight.

THE FAMILY

It is perhaps best to begin with a consideration of the family. George Murdock finds that the nuclear family—a married man and woman with offspring—"exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society."[5] The Italian family and community life is centrally important. Robert Park concludes that the "Italians retain longer than many other nationalities the virtues of the primary group organization."[6] "Their family and community life has a very affectionate and intimate character. . . ."[7] Philip Rose agrees finding that the "great virtues are domestic virtues, the great events are family events."[8] I have found the family to be in many ways the basic unit of the Italian settlement and therefore of primary consideration to my study.

While the family may have formed the basic unit, during the initial settlement there was extensive boarding. The young Italian male seeking employment in order to establish his own home or to earn enough to establish himself back in Italy often sought the household of a relative or friend from the same town or region. The strong communal tie known as *campanilismo* was probably an important factor in deciding who boarded with whom. The informants report a "lot" of boarding, and they assign from three to five boarders to many of the nearby houses as well as to their own. Mrs. M. S. remembers that a relative of hers had as high as thirty men living with his family in Martins Creek.[9]

When the immigrant did marry, his family life would have many peculiar aspects, that is, peculiar from today's standpoint. Doctors aided in the deliveries of the newborn though a midwife or neighbor woman was usually present. The technique of tightly wrapping the infant in swaddling clothes was common. This was done to be sure that the child's bones would set. Diaper changes were infrequent—perhaps two or three a day.[10] The infants were, of course, breast-fed. For maladies like the colic, they used native herbs to make a "tea." One recipe, used for adults as well, was of *malva* or a plant of the mallow family.[11]

I was told of a man who delivered all his wife's children, but this was very unusual.[12] The doctors who attended the Italians became used to their method of aiding an infant having difficulty breathing immediately following delivery. It seems that the Italian would take a chicken and force its air into the child's anal passage. I say this must have become familiar to the doctors because of the following story. When Mrs. C. S. gave birth to her first child, a boy, Mr. C. S. followed an old custom of shooting a gun once into the air to signify the event. Upon hearing the shot, the doctor stirred and told an attendant neighbor (whose story this really is) that there was no need for a chicken in this birth. In practice, however, the chicken was not shot. Its air was forced into the child until the chicken died or as long as necessary.[13]

When a married son or daughter lived with the parents, the elder father remained the center of authority by virtue of occupancy and ownership of the homestead as well as

[5] George P. Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 2.

[6] Robert Park and Herbert Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1921), p. 241.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[8] Philip M. Rose, *The Italians in America* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922), p. 78.

[9] Mrs. M. S., Housewife, American, 65, East Bangor, January 28, 1962. "American" means born in America of Italian parents. The religion is Catholic unless listed as otherwise. This is true of all notations on informants. Also, all the informants have lived all their lives in the area or for the immigrants ever since the year indicated.

[10] *Ibid.* Mrs. M. S. was helpful in giving the female viewpoint. Before marrying she was brought up in Martins Creek.

[11] Mr. C. S., Mill Worker, American, 61, Protestant, West Bangor, March 5, 1962. This informant and his wife had a store of interesting examples and stories. I have tried to discover the exaggerated parts. Since they were interviewed together, the one usually seemed to modify the other.

[12] Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962, Mrs. C. S., Seamstress, American, 58, Protestant, West Bangor.

[13] *Ibid.*

Young married couple, photographed about 1905.

Brothers-in-law—picture taken 1906.

the powerful and traditional disciplinary position of the father. There would be discussions between man and wife regardless of age, but the man had the final say. "It was not fifty-fifty."[14] Finally the man might say: "This is the way it's going to be."[15] If the wife disobeyed, she might be slapped or beaten. Physical punishment was applied if the wife did not, for example, prepare a good dinner or was insolent.[16]

Interfamily arguments were settled quite easily, for the man's word was law. Usually, however, there was little discipline needed. The children learned to submit to parental will. "To eat is to obey."[17] It seemed that the physical superiority of the father as well as traditional respect for him served to assure his dominance.

The male might further be considered as the strong ruler. Interviews with the informants generally reveal that very few Southern Italians who settled in the area had an education in Italy beyond the fourth grade. That they could not read or write even Italian is revealed in reading their wills and court cases. Such was their educational background.

Most of them labored at the slate quarries. During the summer they would spend the evenings in the garden. They were fond of drinking, of course, but it was done in moderation and usually at home. It was a disgrace to be seen drunk.

It seems to me that the Italian male, in general, was an assertive individual especially in a social sense. The immigrants' card game of "three-seven," for example, had one "boss" each hand who decided who would drink the drinks that all had bought—himself, some, or all. Indebtedness was certainly not a virtue as talks with local shopkeepers reveal. The male role was maintained since the women did not work outside the home during the first years. Moreover, it was common practice for the grandsons to be given the same name as their grandfathers.

The strong position of the males might account for their separate activities in some connections. This as almost everything else had roots in Italy, so therefore the influence of the Church would be important. There was separate church attendance by the wife and husband and separate seating

[14] Mr. M. S., Blouse Contractor, Italian to area 1906, 68, East Bangor, January 28, 1962. This individual had a concise way of exemplifying his answers that seemed typical of neat Italian sayings and expressions.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] L. C., Tailor, Italian to area, 1902, 78, Pen Argyl, January 9, 1962. Because of his age, his cooperation, and intelligence, he was very helpful. He did not seem anxious to reveal what were to his mind the negative aspects of the Italian settlement.

[17] M. S. This statement seemed implicit in the testimonies of others, as well.

at the church whether Italian Catholic or Italian Protestant.

Mr. and Mrs. C. S. tell of the gathering of the men of the village of West Bangor at their father's store in order to hear him tell ghost and fairy stories.[18] The women were not present.

During and after the years dealt with there were men's social and religious clubs started in the isolated Italian settlements. The Saint Phillip Neri Society begun quite early (1898) in Roseto was a male organization that marched separately in the processions, attended the funerals of the members and wore a separate and distinctive headgear at formal ceremonies.[19] The society fostered the teaching of civics and religion, parliamentary procedure and Americanism.[20] The Marconi Club begun in Roseto about 1910 stated as its scope the facilitating of relationships between the Rosetan Italians and those of surrounding towns, to draw them together as members of one family, and to better their intellectual and moral conditions, while leaving them free to profess their own political and religious faith, but urging them to become American citizens.[21]

The matter of inheritance will further point out the authority of the father. There is, of course, no way of knowing the particular circumstances involved in each of the wills selected, so I will present them with some general though not conclusive observations.

One Pasquale Ronca left most of his land to his sons and stipulated that an acre should be given to each of his two daughters.[22] Matteo Bozzelli left $250 to his wife and divided the rest of his estate equally among his children.[23] Another immigrant Giuseppe Falcone with holdings in Roseto, Valfortore, Italy, provided $150 for his son and $$50 for his daughter.[24] He recommended that his children love their mother according to their duty and according to law. He left the balance of his estate to his wife and after her death the property was to be divided a third to his daughter and two-thirds to his son. He provided $100 each to his male grandchildren who were both named Giuseppe, of course. Lorenzo Pacifico (one of the founders of Roseto) left everything to his wife. Should she remain a widow, at her death "the daughter" would receive a dollar and the other children would receive an equal share of the estate.[25] Domenick Vicario provided a dollar to each of his married daughters and the rest of his estate to his wife. At his wife's death or remarriage the estate was to be sold and divided equally between the two executors, his sons.[26] Nicholas Caccicaro left all to his wife, $300 to each of his five daughters, and upon his wife's death the balance of his estate to his four sons.[27] The wills give some indication of the poverty of the immigrant. As shall be pointed out the unmarried sons and daughters (but the sons moreso) gave in their earnings to their parents, thus in reality helping to earn a large part of the estate left them.

The practice of signaling the birth of a child has already been mentioned—one shot if a boy and two if a girl. A boy was slightly preferred, it seems, because of his future earning power, his help to the family if the father became incapacitated, his carrying on of the family name, his help to the father about the house, his eventual establishment of his own home. There was a saying if a girl was born: "The corner of the house has dropped."[28] Though several years later, Ralph Basso exclaims the virtue of a fellow townsman: "His record of having nine male children all of them in the professional class, is somewhat unmatched by any other Rosetan."[29] Note the emphasis he places on education (which few in the early settlement did, however), the desirability of male children, the importance of the community, and the accent on competition. The formal celebration of the birth complete with orchestra and dancing at first was held at the parent's home on the day of the christening. There was generally a greater celebration if a boy was christened.[30]

The relationship between husband and wife involved a distinction of duties. The wife took care of the home and reared the children who were usually numerous. During the warm months she might pick berries for selling, gather kindling wood for the coal stove, and work in the garden. She often did light work in the garden including, perhaps, tying tomato plants to individual poles, cultivating, pulling "suckers" off the tomatoes. During the late summer and fall the wife would can fried and roasted peppers, squash, fruit, endive, and tomatoes—as high as 250–300 quart and pint jars in all with tomatoes and peppers predominating.[31]

During the first years of settlement the marriages were often arranged by the parents. The first marriage of one individual interviewed was arranged for him, but it was not successful, so he obtained a divorce and remarried. During the "talk" between the two sets of parents all the details of the marriage of their children would be discussed and settled. This practice did not last very long.

The security of the aged parents was preserved since at least one child—often the youngest—remained with the parents and took over the household or its greatest share after the death of the parents. All the informants report turning in their checks beginning at the time they were old enough to work up until just before the time they were married. Disobedience in these demands brought the disdain of the community. Sanction meant that everyone talked about the transgressor and thought it terrible.

As might be expected the eldest male child would have a special position in the family. When he arrived at early manhood (about eighteen) he would be consulted in family decisions especially involving expenditures and the younger children. He assumed head of the household if the father died or became incapacitated. One informant whose father became chronically ill told of his eldest brother who worked and provided for the family until his seven brothers and sisters were married.[32]

[18] Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962.

[19] L. C., February 19, 1962.

[20] Ralph Basso, *History of Roseto, 1882–1952*, trans. in collaboration with Rev. Frances C. Copozzi (Easton: Tanzella Printing Co., 1952), p. 37. Basso at the time he wrote this history said he was 63 and had "intimate contact with many of the early Rosetans." The informants consider the history to be accurate.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[22] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Pasquale Ronco, 1898," *Will Book 13*, p. 301. The wills are those of men who had lived within the area.

[23] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Matteo Bozzelli, 1902," *Will Book 14*, p. 534.

[24] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Giuseppe Falcone, 1910," *Will Book 11*, p. 361.

[25] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Lorenzo Pacifico, 1911," *Will Book 18*, p. 109.

[26] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Domenick Vicario, 1919," *Will Book 22*, p. 35.

[27] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Nicholas Caccicaro, 1925," *Will Book 14*, p. 191.

[28] C. S. I could find no substantiation for this from other informants, however.

[29] Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 9.

[30] J. D., Justice of the Peace, Italian to area, 1894, 75, Roseto, February 18, 1962. This individual related many of his personal experiences that I was not able to directly use, but these conveyed to me a sense of the way it was.

[31] Mrs. M. S.; L. C., January 9, 1962.

[32] Mr. L. C., January 9, 1962.

Mediterranean conviviality in the new world setting—photograph dated about 1915.

Photographed in 1938, at the age of 68, this emigrant came to America at 21.

At work in the kitchen garden, 1924.

Even in the smaller matters of discipline the father's authority was extreme. Age was not a sufficient criterion for independence so long as the offspring lived under the "same roof." Mr. L. C. said that just a few weeks before his marriage he was seen smoking a cigarette and was slapped by his father for not asking permission. Permission was not obtained directly; rather, one asked his older brother or uncle to ask the father.[33] If the child in the later years went to a movie he was allowed a certain hour depending on when the affair would end and how much time would be required to walk home. Punishment in the smaller rebellions, which were few, might involve a slap, a beating, or a threat not to buy, for example, a new pair of shoes.[34] These punishments were applied by either parent while a brother or sister might try to intercede.

A wayward child would receive severe punishment. I was told of a daughter who conceived out of wedlock. She was beaten by her father, and she was not spoken to by her father and brothers for over twenty years.[35]

[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] Mr. and Mrs. C. S., February 17, 1962.

The Italian family practically included the *compare* and *comare*—the godfather and godmother. Great respect for them on the part of the godchild was traditional. The parents and godparents involved called each other *comare* or *compare* so and so. The child addressed the godparent in that way, using the given name, e.g., *Compare* Giuseppe. At Christmas time the godchild visited and greeted his godparents. He always tipped his hat when meeting them along the street. All the informants agreed that should the parents die the godparents would care for the godchild.

RELIGION

Another main heading in the Italian peasant community in America was religion. Ninety-five per cent of all Italian immigrants who landed at Ellis Island had called themselves Roman Catholics.[36] The tradition and law of religion rarely exists in an officially and doctrinally pure state within secular society and certainly not within the present subculture with strong roots into the life of Italian peasantry. "When [an anthropologist] studies a peasant community and its culture, the context is widened to include the elements of the great tradition that are and have been in interaction with what is local and immediate."[37]

More specifically concerning the Italian immigrants, Robert Foerster finds that one of the deepest changes the Italian experiences is in religion.[38] The observations of Robert Redfield, Rose, and Foerster among many give an indication of the vast significance of religion—a significance far exceeding the limits of the community. As would be expected, therefore, this would be the category most directly treated by what few written records there are for the area. The doctrines of the Protestant and Catholic religions are, of course, quite extensive and complex as are the accompanying superstitions and customs.

While in no category of the study have I approached thoroughness, in this section I would not have the material profess a superficial representation. I have decided to present what I have found within the limits of the area. I shall attempt to present the formal and in a sense some of the traditional aspects and then some of the superstitious or unorthodox beliefs. The two perhaps can not be disassociated and the coloring of each upon the other will become evident. The religious ceremony considered in the next section may in a sense typify the union of the village and priestly traditions.

Considerations of the Catholic religion will first involve an understanding of the dedication to a patron saint or to the Blessed Mother. "The Catholic Churches are frequently named after the saint whose name the one interested in them bore."[39] Other reasons include the special devotion of the founder of the church.[40] Of more immediate interest would be manifestations of this in the area.

In West Bangor the devotion of one Domenick Abruzzese to Saint Rocco when there was no church in the village prompted him to establish a chapel in his home. He built benches, made a tabernacle, and led his *paesani* in the rosary. Deciding that an image was needed, through him the community purchased a statue of Saint Rocco—a statue transferred in 1922 to a newly built church in honor of Saint Rocco.[41]

Back in April, 1897, there was a murder trial involving one Fausto De Paulo who was accused of murdering Nicholas Ruggiero with a dagger or sharp instrument.[42] It seems that De Paulo was not welcome at a reunion party. Certain women told him: "You are too bad a man to be here."[43] There was a fight and then the murder. When struck, Ruggiero cried: "Oh my Virgin, I am stabbed."[44] It seems somewhat significant that at such a time a man cried out to the Virgin and not to God or to the devil.

A question may be raised as to whether or not the petitions were made directly to the saint or blessed Mother, or to God through the intercession of a spiritual being. One informant told of a popular anecdote that went like this: A woman prayed long and fervently to Saint Anthony for a special intention, but nothing happened. One evening while praying before a statue of the Saint she noticed a statue of Jesus. So she prayed to Jesus to tell Saint Anthony to grant her aid.[45] That this was an anecdote showed that the people of this Italian community realized where the omnipotence resided.

The settlement of Roseto, an all-Italian village which was a transplant of almost one-fifth of the village of Roseto, Valfortore, Italy, began in the year 1888.[46] This settlement was, as has been mentioned, the first of other settlements to follow—notably in West Bangor and Martins Creek as well as in certain of the established boroughs.

We can trace the activity of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in certain of these areas. Archbishop Prendergast of the Philadelphia diocese in 1896 gave full charge of all the towns and villages in the northeast section of Northampton County to the parish of Bangor. Chapels, churches, or stations were set up at Wind Gap, Pen Argyl, Roseto, North Bangor, East Bangor, West Bangor, and Martins Creek.[47]

Besides the Catholic leadership of Abruzzese in West Bangor there was a Protestant movement. An Episcopalian minister of Italian birth gathered almost half the village under his wing and eventually established a parish in West Bangor and one in Wind Gap, both for Italians. Certain factors for the establishment of the church may be assumed: (1) The Episcopalian faith would differ only slightly from the Catholic to the uneducated peasant; (2) The Protestant church was built before the Catholic; (3) The minister was there not in the role of the temporary missionary but there to gather his own congregation and thus, (4) offer a weekly and permanent service within the community; (5) Most importantly, he as an Italian was one of them and interested enough to help them with their problems. For this kindness, in large part, many of his original followers remained even after the Catholic church was built.

Beginning about 1910 Father De Nisco from Roseto ministered to the religious needs of the people of Martins Creek. The Alpha Portland Cement Company donated land for the erection of a chapel in 1913. Father Landolphi began construction and dedicated the chapel to Saint Rocco. The little money contributed by the congregation proved inadequate to pay the upkeep. By 1918 the Cement Company again assisted in repairing the building and finally two years later a mission was established.[48]

For many years the residents of Pen Argyl (as did those of West Bangor) attended the Italian Church at Roseto. Later they held services in the Palace Theater in Pen Argyl. By 1920 there were some fifty Italians (with 150 Slavic people and fifteen English-speaking members). Saint Elizabeth's

[36] Rose, *The Italians in America*, p. 99.

[37] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture:* An Anthropological Approach to Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 89.

[38] Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Immigration of Our Times*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919), p. 439.

[39] Rev. John E. McCann, "The Catholic Church," in Vol. I: *History of Northampton County and the Grand Valley of the Lehigh*, III Vols., ed. William J. Heller (New York: American Historical Society, 1920), p. 388.

[40] V. Benigni, "Patron Saints," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann *et al.* XI (1911), 563.

[41] J. C., Quarry worker, American, 62, West Bangor, February 12, 1962. This informant had of those interviewed the closest contact with the experience at West Bangor.

[42] *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Fausto De Paulo*, Northampton County, Clerk of Quarter Sessions, April, 1897.

[43] *Ibid.* p. 3.

[44] *Ibid.* p. 7.

[45] L. C., February 19, 1962.

[46] Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 4.

[47] Rev. McCann, "The Catholic Church," p. 388.

[48] *Ibid.* pp. 389–90.

Church was dedicated by the archbishop in 1919.[49] The name of the church indicates the influence of the Slavic immigrants.

This brings us to a consideration of the religious activities of Roseto or "New Italy" as it was commonly called. (This community was the most articulate and self-conscious of those studied.) After describing the Protestant movement within the community, I will consider the activities of the Catholic Church.

A Presbyterian minister from Bangor appealed to the presbytery at Hazleton which took an interest in Roseto.[50] As early as 1890–91 a colporteur from Hazleton distributed religious literature and preached. A year later a Reverend Tealdo entered the area. There was no church building. The first meeting place was a shanty furnished with tree stumps and crudely made benches used as pews while an empty beer keg was the pulpit.[51] Minister Tealdo lost no time, however. He wrote to the editor of the *Bangor Observer* in 1893 to announce the dedication of the new Italian Presbyterian Church at New Italy.[52] Services on Tuesday afternoon would be in English and by ministers from the vicinity. Second services would be held in the evening featuring addresses from missionaries then working in different Italian settlements in the United States. The newspaper reported that many citizens of Bangor attended the afternoon service. The Italians raised $300 of the total of $1283.[53]

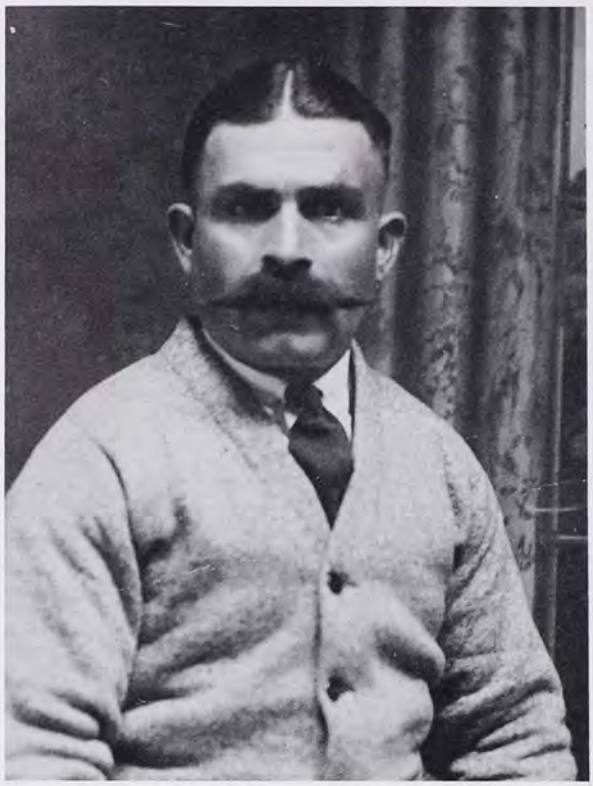
During the pastorate of Tealdo there were no religious controversies. During these years, however, a Catholic priest was sent into the area. Controversy between the successors to Tealdo and the Catholic priest, Father DeNisco, lasted until 1912. But by that year, it seems that the Presbyterian Church had some difficulties because the original converts were "old" and many had "gone away."[54]

What, then, of the original sixty-four chartered members who "repudiated"[55] their allegiance to the Roman Church and became Presbyterians? It seems that about 1893 during the movement to build a Catholic church "everybody wanted it built near his house."[56] Basso concluded: "There is no doubt that the disagreement and the ill feelings accompanying it was the principal motive and did much to influence the rise of Protestantism in New Italy."[57] This in itself is probably an unsatisfactory explanation. Realizing the strong and perhaps vain assertiveness of the Italian peasant, it does not seem too exaggerated to dwell on such emotional influences. The Protestant minister did appear when there was no established Catholic parish in the Roseto area. He himself was Italian and in this way could capitalize on the want of religion he found.

Despite such considerations, the existence of Protestantism still remains unsatisfactorily explained in large part. The reasons for this have not been adequately given by written records that were available. Elderly informants in both villages offer, however, explanations which they evidently quite firmly believe. The Italian minister in West Bangor, it seems, had been a Catholic priest who married. Where this took place they did not know, but they were sure of it. (He did come to the area, as mentioned, and had built his church before the Catholic Church did.) He was very kind and helpful to many of the immigrants. Some of them remained followers of his.

It seems that a Catholic priest who had been doing work in the early days of the New Italy settlement was excommunicated. They did not know why. Then, they said, he gathered the people of the village into a shack that had been a makeshift church. Here he told the people he was going to start his own church. Some of the audience followed him. This, they said, turned brother against brother.

Those are the explanations for what they are worth which is probably not very much. I regret that I was not able to find definite information in this matter.



This emigrant of 1915 served in the U. S. Forces in the First World War—Photographed about 1925.

Three friends who worked together in the Pen-Argyl slate quarries.

[49] *Ibid.* pp. 390–91.
[50] C. J. Scarpellati, *History of the Presbyterian Church of Roseto* (Bangor: Bangor Printing, 1948), p. 3.
[51] *Ibid.* pp. 3–4.
[52] *Bangor Observer,* August 3, 1893, p. 2.
[53] *Bangor Observer,* August 10, 1893, p. 1.
[54] Scarpellati, *op. cit.,* p. 4.
[55] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[56] Basso, *History of Roseto,* p. 29.
[57] *Ibid.,* p. 30.

Emigrant of 1896 with his family.

The lots for the Catholic church were decided upon and five Italians agreed to back the purchase of land for $1000.[58] The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was dedicated on April 16, 1894. A priest from New York officiated. A large group of Catholics from Easton arrived by trolley on a Monday morning. There were eight priests in all. After they dedicated the church they consecrated the cemetery.[59]

The church persisted as a missionary station until April of 1897 when Father Pasquale DeNisco arrived as pastor. He became the civil as well as the spiritual head of the community. Besides certain factors concerning the settlement—the peasant background, the needs of survival, the outside influences—there was an additional condition represented at its best, perhaps, in an individual such as Father DeNisco.

Because he was an Italian Catholic priest with a realization of many American potentialities for his people, he was able to work through his spiritual headship and move his people toward new goals that they would have to achieve. If they were not to actively seek certain needed benefits, they probably would have remained for a longer time a passive group of immigrants before the corrosion of their own ignorance and the influences of outside groups, however welcome or obtrusive. DeNisco was able to provide leadership *within* the conditions of the Italian settlement and improve them. Thus, I say his was perhaps the best influence because through him the people could retain those ways of believing and acting they felt important as Italian peasants and still through him rise to meet and adjust to the challenges and conditions of America.

The Priest first organized religious societies: A Mutual Aid Society or *Addolorata* for men; a Sacred Heart Association for wives and mothers; A Society for Young Men; and A Daughters of Mary Society or *Figlie di Maria* for the girls.[60] Such societies were established to promote Christian life and the regular reception of the sacraments.

His civil activities were varied and extensive. He instructed and prepared for citizenship hundreds of people both Catholic and Protestant. Citizenship papers were handed out in the basement of the Catholic church. He was able to open a branch of the American Federation of Labor. He became its first president, leading his quarry-working parishioners in strikes which pressured a steady increase in wages.[61] He went on to organize the Roseto Water and Steam Company, to renew the Roseto Cornet Band, to initiate a circulating library, to establish an annual ten dollar prize for the best shrubs and flowers.[62]

By 1911 he worked for the incorporation of Roseto into a borough, but that achievement a year later he did not live to see. After he died they named a park for him and erected a marble monument in the cemetery and adjacent to the church. (He died in the middle of life from an appendicitis operation.)

He had made known his will in 1904 of "such estate as it hath pleased God to entrust" him with.[63] DeNisco left to each of his two sisters $200 and designated the rest for funeral expenses and the erection of a "modest" tombstone. At the time of his death, however, he and his church had some $1800 in bills half of which the diocese had to assume. The state of indebtedness involved a hearing during which certain actions transpired revealing various spiritual and financial conditions at the time.[64]

Father Fiorillio, the successor to Father DeNisco, did not find any accounts or bills. When asked if priests keep accounts he answered that they "must" send annual accounts to the archbishop.[65] When asked if the priests make the report themselves, the priest responded: "The priest makes them himself, he is the boss and is appointed by the bishop."[66] To an inquiry concerning aid from the bishop the priest acknowledged such help "sometimes."[67] If the bishop thought requested repairs necessary, he would pay the expenses—if not the priest must pay. Priests could buy real estate in their own name.[68] When asked by whose authority he could perform priestly activities, the priest replied that the archbishop had given him the authority.[69]

Certain notes and bills were presented against the estate. Three Rosetans presented notes totalling $800. The two priests having notes withdrew their claims. There was a bill for an American flag.[70]

The hearing revealed obviously that Father DeNisco and his church were not financially secure. Some indication was given of the difficulty determining just who incurred the

58 McCann, "The Catholic Church," p. 391.
59 *Bangor Oberver,* April 19, 1894, p. 1.
60 Basso, *History of Roseto,* p. 34.
61 J. D.
62 Basso, *History of Roseto,* pp. 35–36.
63 Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, "Will of Pasquale DeNisco, 1904," *Will Book 18,* p. 407.
64 Northampton County, Clerk of Orphans' Court, *Auditor's Hearing on the Estate of Pasquale DeNisco,* January, 1913.
65 *Ibid.,* p. 4.
66 *Ibid.,* p. 4.
67 *Ibid.,* p. 6.
68 *Ibid.,* p. 7.
69 *Ibid.,* p. 14.
70 *Ibid.,* p. 34.

debts: the priest, the congregation, or the diocese. The diocese held administrative and spiritual headship as revealed in the testimony. The ultimate explanation would involve apostolic succession.

The priest held that the pastor was the "boss" and could incur debts and have property of his own. This would explain how in relation to the diocese DeNisco had the freedom to provide civil as well as spiritual leadership within his parish. The activities of DeNisco would also appear to have been motivated from more than material considerations.

Having considered the element of priestly tradition working at its optimum in a new environment, I would like to turn to the more local elements of Italian superstition.

The superstitions show the personal rather than the impersonal explanations of actions and pain. There is also the close relationship between the tangible and intangible. Thus, while the Evil Eye has a personal explanation and the resultant headache is a tangible feeling it has an intangible cure in the "powwow." This is perhaps too neat, but the relationships indicated will become more or less apparent.

An adult having a headache or a child having worms might have been the victim of the Evil Eye cast by someone who had been jealous, or who was born on Christmas Eve, or turned his back in church to the uplifted host, etc. A test was usually made to determine if the *mal' occhio* was the cause of a malady. One informant told of a man who was sent for and performed the following test: He dropped some cotton pieces into an olive oil and water mixture. If the cotton pieces spread out this meant the influence of the Evil Eye.[71] A variation of this involved taking a teaspoonful of olive oil and pushing out small droplets with the forefinger into a glass of water. If the oil spread it indicated the presence of the Evil Eye.

The cure was performed by a few people who had learned the appropriate prayers from his or her parents. They never accepted pay for their function. These individuals would say prayers for the afflicted soul and manipulate a large kitchen knife in the sign of the cross. The prayers were directed to God or a combination of pagan and Christian gods.[72]

Preventative charms and amulets shaped like a hunchback, a goat's horn, even a small scissors were worn or carried by the fearful.[73] Tiny horns and other charms were pinned on baby clothes. A preventative gesture made by the anxious was as follows: The forefinger and small finger were extended while the middle two fingers rested on the palm with the thumb over them. There were also charms in this fashion.

The importance of personal wishes and inclinations rather than impersonal forces can be illustrated in relating the superstitions concerning pregnancy. Practically any wish of the expectant mother had to be fulfilled or else some mark might appear on the baby. She had to eat whatever her husband ate lest a repressed desire have a harmful effect on the baby. One informant told of a woman with a growth resembling a bunch of grapes on the lower side of her jaw: "How could this have happened unless her mother had desired grapes?"[74] (I said I didn't know.) The virtual mother must not be frightened or the results would be similar. A pregnant woman was frightened by a rat, I was told, and her son carried a mark resembling a rat on his forehead.[75]

The scientific methods and guides of farming were, of course, unknown to the Italian immigrant. The scientific reasons for planting or harvesting at certain times would be intangible and unfamiliar to the immigrant. But he had his own tangible signs. If the position of the moon was turned up he would have a sign for planting beans. When the moon was turned down it was an indication to soon plant rooted vegetables. Should the moon be in a growing stage, it would be a sign not to pick the grapes.[76] If the Italian thought a storm were too severe, he would try to calm the storm by throwing outside a palm blessed on Palm Sunday.

A misfortune in the family was usually presaged by some dream the Italian had had a few days or weeks before the event. When the misfortune fell, the Italian might say: "There was the dream, the warning."[77] It was a bad sign for the future for someone to dream that his dead parent wanted something. There were writings attaching a number to practically anything dreamt which was helpful to a gambler.[78]

The viewing of the departed was held in the home. It was important for the bereaved ones to give full and unrestrained vent to their grief.[79] The stricken family was brought food for at least a week after the death. The *paesani* brought gifts of money, and a few would offer to dig the grave. Such was the community coöperation familiar and customary to the early Italian settlers.

CEREMONY

The community expression of devotion was especially apparent in the annual celebrations, ceremonies, and processions. Emily F. Meade in her study of Italians at the Hammonton, New Jersey, settlement listed church festivals among the important social gatherings.[80] Foerster associates ceremony with what he thinks is a certain love of show on the part of the Italian.[81] As will be pointed out the formal and informal ceremony of the Italian was an integral part of his religious and communal life.

The special devotion of a person and region for a saint had historical origin. If a particular saint worked miracles or died in a particular region or if there was a special apparition of the Blessed Mother in a particular place, then that region consequently had a special devotion. Mr. M. S., for instance, was born in the region of Abruzzo and thus his patron, he tells me, would be Saint Gabriel. Blessed Gabriel died in the region of Abruzzo one hundred years ago.[82] Processions would be natural expressions of dedication and petition. In order to bring about the end of a plague, the Council of Constance in 1414 ordered public prayers and processions in honor of Saint Rocco.[83]

It would be expected then, that such spiritual ceremony as well as less formal display would be an integral part of the rural settlement. Special processions in honor of the patron saint took place in each of the little Italian colonies on or near the day of special dedication as specified by the Church calendar.

71 J. D.

72 Phyllis H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America:* A Handbook for Social Workers, Visiting Nurses, School Teachers, and Physicians (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 155–59.

73 Mr. and Mrs. M. S.

74 *Ibid.*

75 *Ibid.*

76 J. C.

77 J. D.

78 L. C., January 19, 1962. He said he had such a book which was used in connection with the Italian national lottery.

79 J. C.

80 Emily F. Meade, "Italian on the Land: A Study in Immigration," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor,* No. 70 (May, 1907) p. 429.

81 Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times,* p. 435.

82 Authur Devine, "Gabriel Possenti," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. VI., 331–332.

83 Gregory Cleary, "Saint Roch," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. XIII, 100–101.

Saint Rocco's of West Bangor organized a three-day celebration beginning on Friday night. Stands were set up from which certain church members sold watermelons, ice cream, candy, hot dogs (no hot sausage, at first).[84] Entertainment might be provided by the Roseto or Delabole bands on Friday and Saturday night. The latter was especially festive with a fireworks display. (Delabole was a small Italian setlement about a mile south of West Bangor.) Sunday morning mass was followed by a procession through most of the parish. Four men would carry the statue of Saint Rocco bolted to a platform. The priest would lead the procession. The men and women would follow and recite the rosary in unison. Those who had vowed to do so carried a large stone or walked barefoot.[85] The vow was made for some special favor the individual believed he had received from God through the special intercession of a saint or the Blessed Mother. The people pinned their gifts of money on a strip of ribbon suspended from the statue of the saint.[86]

The same general experience was evidenced in Martins Creek. When the village was yet a mission station, the visiting priest took money gathered in the celebration; whereupon, the people became angry. They kept the money.[87]

The Rosetan celebration in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was held on the last Sunday of July—a practice originating in Italy because the reaping of the wheat permitted no time for a celebration on July 16, the day designated on the Church calendar.[88] During the first years an Italian priest came from Philadelphia, and he said mass under the shadows of the trees. Mass was said by 1890 on the porch of the best house in New Italy called *la prefetture* or the prefecture. Basso writes of large crowds of both Italians and Americans coming to hear classical selections by two brass bands—one from Philadelphia and another from New York City. As part of the ceremony the American and Italian flags were blessed by the priest.[89]

About fifteen years later one informant remembers the processions headed with a wagon carrying the statue of the patron. Four girls dressed as angels rode on the wagon.[90] The celebration also included the raising of funds through the selling of watermelons, ice cream—and as mentioned previously. There were bag races, greasy-pole climbs, and rooster raises. On the top of the greased pole was placed a ham or some such incentive. The rooster raise was a name for an event that went like this: A hole was dug in which a live rooster was placed. The hole was covered with a large stone. The contestants were blindfolded, brought to a starting line, and allowed to make the raise by means of a cane or stick.[91]

The importation of bands from the city would indicate the importance the immigrant attached to the annual celebration. The events during the celebration reflect the importance of food. There was little involved but strength and luck, but the little contests were community affairs.

The Rosetan celebration was held by 1913 on July 26, 27, 28. The Bangor, Roseto, and Delabole bands were engaged. There were fireworks in the evening and religious parades during the day. A flagpole some eighty feet high—the highest in the area—was erected in front of the church. A large American Flag (ten by fifteen feet) was to be raised on Saturday noon. There was a procession on Saturday evening during which certain societies walked: the Society of Our Mother of Sorrows, the Sacred Heart Society, the Sunday School children, and the Societies of the Hungarian people of Pen Argyl. After the procession there was a solemn benediction. Masses with sermons in Italian and English were recited on Sunday.[92]

Thus, the celebrations traditional in Italy were continued in the new environment. The celebrations were the central social events in the lives of the immigrants. They would buy new clothes and further stretch their resources in order to enjoy themselves at the celebration. The church gained a source of income and, more importantly, symbolized and led the communal dedication to the patron. The personal assertiveness of the Italian immigrant appeared, it seems, in the carrying out of the vow, or as a community expression in the hoisting of a "very valuable flag" up an eighty foot flagpole.[93] It should be pointed out that the Protestant elements in the communities did not take part in the Catholic processions though many did attend the festivities at the celebration. The Protestant church at West Bangor initiated their own annual celebration which did not include a procession.

Holidays were special occasions to the traditionally religious Italian. The *paesani* would visit each other on Christmas Day and New Year's Day to exchange greetings and drinks. The immigrants would light candles on the graves for All Souls' Day at the beginning of November. A small Sicilian colony among the Rosetans instituted a procession on Good Fridays during which they carried a large crucifix. This was of short duration, however.[94]

Domenick Abruzzese decorated the small chapel in his home for Christmas. He made a miniature clay hillside and a cave around which he placed the small figures he made. He would mold shepherds and dogs as well as the Holy Family from clay gathered locally. After baking the figures in his stove, he would paint them with water colors.[95]

Carnevale before lent meant an evening of frolic. A few individuals would go about masqueraded and accompanied by a small band usually including a drum, cornet, and guitar.[96] One informant told of his participation in a house-to-house routine. He and a few older men dressed like women and carried about a cradle and a baby doll. One of the number had a fully bosomed transvestitism, and he would feed the baby for everyone's amusement.[97]

Simpler ceremonies accompanied a house completion or a slaughtering. Several close relatives including the *compari* would help dig a cellar for a new home. There would be upon completion some beer and sometimes singing and guitar playing. Thanksgiving was usually the day to butcher the pig. A few skilled townsmen would go about directing the butchering at various places and in return might receive some meat or a good meal.

84 J. C.
85 *Ibid.*
86 *Ibid.*
87 R. C., Storekeeper, Italian to area, 1920, 63, Martins Creek, February 18, 1962.
88 J. D.; and A. F., Retired Laborer, Italian to area, 1904, Non-Catholic, Roseto, March 12, 1962. This individual was violently anti-Catholic. He married the daughter of one of the original converts to Protestantism in the area. He seemed repelled by the constant demand of the Church for money. He attended Catholic functions, he said, until at one of them—in the basement of the church—someone offered him a drink. Mr. L. C., a friend of his, said that he never formally changed his religion.
89 Basso, *History of Roseto*, pp. 37–39.
90 A. F., He told how the parents of the two who rode in back paid $10 and the two in front $5.
91 *Ibid.*
92 *Bangor Daily News*, July 29, 1913, p. 1.
93 *Ibid.*
94 A. F.
95 J. C.
96 J. D.
97 J. C.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT LIFE In Northampton County, Pennsylvania, 1890-1915

Part II

By CLEMENT VALLETTA

V. HOUSING AND STRUCTURES

A good outward indication of the Italian settlement can be given by considering the housing and structures. Foerster finds that "it is in the housing of our Italians, more perhaps than anywhere else, that their characteristic impulses show."[98] The housing will reflect the influence of the exigencies inherent in the new settlements—exigencies that called for adaptations from the surrounding culture. Ownership of his own home was a strong attraction to the family loving Italian. One of the chief objectives of the Italian in this country, Williams finds, was to own his own home.[99] If the home was so important to the immigrant, it would be revealing of him and his settlement to consider the sort of home and furnishings he had. Moreover, the types of community structures should in some way reflect the community cooperation.

While there were a few masons available in the early settlement, the first homes were mainly frame structures. The most common style—if it can be called that—had basically two upper and two lower-story rooms as well as an attic and cellar. The enclosed stairway was in the center of the first floor with the doorway about five to eight feet directly before the front entrance. Thus, upon entering one might go left to the kitchen, right to a bedroom (or parlor) or directly upstairs. The cellar steps were beneath the up-steps. The back door to the outside faced the cellar door. The walls were of plaster and whitewashed. The floors were uncovered.[100]

Map of Northampton County "New Italy" settlements referred to in this article.

The frame structures were at first built by native carpenters.[101] Italian carpenters also came to use their skills but not initially. The Italians were generally imitative in technical matters involving some skill. They tended to follow the patterns in building set by the native carpenters. Such precedents were followed by the immigrant, it seems, because of: (1) his lack of education and adaptibility, (2) his immediate need for a shelter that was relatively inexpensive, and (3) his tendency—especially outside the Rosetan settlement—to buy or rent existing houses that were of the described kind.

While in outline the housing would follow these general descriptions, there would be cultural and circumstantial variations. The Italians would help somewhat in the construction, and they would have some say in the placing of the buildings. The Italian would provide the basic labor. He and his friends would dig the cellar by pick and shovel. The cellars and cisterns were usually walled up with stones by an Italian mason. The Italian might lay out the walks which were of slate rejects from a local quarry. The houses were built with the wide front toward the road indicating, perhaps, imitation and sufficiency of expanse. The house would be set quite close to the road in order to allow as much land as possible for the garden. This became a favorite complaint of later generations who did not do any gardening and who wanted some lawn in front. The first houses, however, were not built with a front porch which when later added extended very near the front walk.

The kitchen measuring perhaps twelve by fourteen feet was usually one of the larger rooms in the house. Since in it was the large iron coal stove providing heat, it was actually the living room. What furnishings there were were usually secondhand ones bought at an auction or from an American dealer.[102] The immigrant might make some benches for the kitchen. A round wooden table was covered with oilcloth to facilitate cleaning. There was also a backless couch for anyone who became sick and needed to be kept warm. There were, depending upon the dedication of the owner, various kinds of religious pictures on the walls.

[98] Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times*, p. 381.
[99] Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America*, pp. 45-46.
[100] C. S., February 17, 1962.
[101] J.D.; L.C., January 9, 1962.
[102] J.D.; L.C., January 9, 1962.

The parlor—if there was one—was, like the rest of the house, furnished simply. It usually included a rocking chair, a coal or oil stove, a few wooden chairs, and a couch.

Because wooden beds were more expensive and not so strong as brass beds, they were seldom used.[103] A bureau with a mirror and some chairs rounded out the rest of the bedroom. Crucifixes were usually found there, hung above the head of the bed. Clothes were hung on pegs or hooks.

The water supply came from rain water that gathered from the roof and flowed into a cistern. The cistern was walled up with stones and cemented. There were very few wells.

Practically every home had a grape arbor which was one of the first things planted.[104] A frame was made by placing the main supports into the ground. Then, holes were drilled through them near the top, and upon the inserted pegs were wired long round poles. The wire was scavenged at a nearby quarry. Each spring the arbor was pruned, and new willow branches were used to tie the vines. The arbor was built around and over a walk extending behind or at the side of the house. It thus offered shade as well as fruit.[105]

The cellar might contain the following staples: a fifty-gallon barrel of homemade wine, the canned foods that had been grown in the garden, a store of potatoes.[106] There was also the coal and wood, as well as the wine press.

Need, not beauty, was the impetus for repairs. The houses, for example, were painted every ten or fifteen years.[107] If a choice had to be made among food, fuel, clothing, or a house repair, the food and fuel requirements would take precedence.

The summer kitchen located behind and near the house was often built of foot boards set vertically on a frame structure.[108] The cracks were covered exteriorly with small wooden strips. A small stone foundation served. Inside was a coal stove used for canning and summer cooking. In the fall sausage was hung inside and smoked. Hot peppers strung through the stems with a large needle and thread were hung along the outside to dry.[109]

The pig was not permitted to wallow in the mud. The entire floor area inside and outside the pen was of two-inch planking in order to prevent the animal's breaking through or gnawing a hole.[110]

The industrial buildings were slow in coming. The first ones which were built about 1910 were small frame structures of one floor. These were blouse factories containing hand-operated sewing machines. The factories were owned by relatively wealthy Italians who operated in conjunction with the New York City garment industry.[111] The Italian mothers and especially their daughters would find employment in the growing number of factories.

Lorenzo Pacifico opened the first inn within the Rosetan area in 1892.[112] From what I have been able to gather the frame structure modified with an addition in front today rests on the same spot. An inventory was taken of his estate in 1911 which revealed little else than that the inn was able to seat thirty-five.[113]

The church construction, it seems, followed a general pattern in that an American general contractor supervised the building with Italians doing the stone masonry and American and Italian collaboration producing the design. The first churches in Roseto and Martins Creek were frame structures. Martins Creek was eventually to build a brick structure. The Rosetans added a stone addition to their church some years before they built a new one. Their new one was completed in 1923 and is one of the most impressive

[103] M.S.
[104] J.D.
[105] J.C.; J.D.
[106] N.V., Factory Worker, American, 50, West Bangor, March 18, 1962. While relatively young this informant was helpful for the West Bangor settlement.
[107] J.C.
[108] J.D.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] J.C.
[111] M.S.
[112] Basso, *History of Roseto*, p. 26.
[113] Northampton County, Recorder of Wills Office, *Inventory*

ITALIAN PIETY IN THE NEW WORLD SETTING —SHRINE TO THE BLESSED MOTHER, ROSETO.

OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL CATHOLIC CHURCH, ROSETO, BUILT 1923

churches in the area. The West Bangor Church was completed in 1922. It was partially designed by the individual who had had a chapel in his home.[114] The shrine to the Blessed Mother was later built beside the West Bangor Church.

The stone used in the churches is native to the area. The churches are all located at or near the highest point in each of the communities.

There are no columns in the interior of the West Bangor Church. The structure had to be repaired within recent years with iron rods joining the long parallel walls.

The Rosetan Church has no such imperfection. The interior has arched columns supporting the indented walls. This Church like the other has arched windows. There are also stone columns in front of the Church. The rounded design in the front is a mosaic entirely of small light-colored stones.

The Rosetan post office was built in 1898 by Joseph Policelli who was postmaster from 1898 to 1915. It included beside the post office a barber shop and a store.[115] There was one large room for "commerce" on the first floor and there were two rooms that were rented on the second floor. The structure was built by stone masons who were friends of Policelli.

The application of "New Italy" for a post office precipitated the decision as to what the community should have been called. Policelli and the eight other American citizens at the time requested the name "Roseto" after Roseto Valfortore, Italy, the origin of most of the settlers.[116]

The Roseto or New Italy settlement begun in 1888 grew steadily. The included town-plan shows the general plan as it appears today and which is not essentially different, in plan at least, from the way it appeared about 1900.[117] The main avenue, Garibaldi, was originally a wagon road leading toward the backdrop to the area—the Blue Mountains. The wooded land was initially owned by Americans who sold lots to the Italians. Thus, the street arrangements were designated by the township surveyor at the time.[118] The Lehigh and New England Railroad offered the first road into Bangor and was used by the immigrant.[119] As the railroad cut the town in halves it obstructed good east-west lines of communication. The railroad was reluctant to grant crossing points.[120]

The main structures were and are located along the southern one-third of Garibaldi Avenue as it adjoins Bangor. I would think that the name "Garibaldi" attests an early Italian national consciousness on the part of the immigrant. The Italian names which are usually family names of early settlers predominate among the main streets.

(Since the borough surveyor has begun some twenty-eight years ago, he has named the minor streets that he has staked out for flowers, trees, and Indians.)

of the Estate of Lorenzo Pacifico, 1911.

114 J.C.; L.C., February 19, 1962.

115 M.P., Surveyor, American, 61, Presbyterian, Roseto, February 5, 1962. He is the son of the first postmaster.

116 *Ibid.* This was also substantiated by souvenir histories.

117 *Ibid.* As town surveyor he had, of course, the original blueprints of lots, street plans, etc.

118 *Ibid.*

119 *Ibid.*

120 *Ibid.*

VI. TOOLS

"Among the various material products of man's manual dexterity we may regard tools as those artifacts which are used to enhance the natural features of the human body for the achievement of human purpose."[121] Just what human purposes the Italians assumed important would determine the kinds of tools they used. The influence of the Italian peasant background was probably the most profound in that determination. The specialized skills necessary to a particular trade were not possessed by the overwhelming majority of immigrants. Those in the trades could expect to continue their work in the new land among their countrymen and among Americans once the language difference was overcome. Those in the carpenter trade, however, might have to learn, if not new mechanical skills, new methods of housing construction. Foerster was not optimistic about the early chances of the Italian laborer who, he said in 1919, "had they lived 2000 years ago would not have been harnessed to tasks materially different from those they toil at today."[122]

That the family was in many ways the economic unit is reflected in the purchases of tools.[123] The purchases also indicate the limitations imposed by background and poverty. The smaller tasks such as shoe repairing, hair cutting, chicken and pig pen building, grape squeezing, gardening and protection were mainly family affairs with the father the star and director, of course.

Almost invariably the accounts show the following purchases: wire netting (for the chicken pens); leather, shoe stands, shoe nails; a box of shells (twenty-two, thirty-two or thirty-eight caliber as well as blanks); and tar paper (for the sheds). Other common purchases were a pick, shovel, saw, rake, hoe, garden fork, hammer, ax, and scissors.[124] Also, of frequent purchase were such things as coffee mills, paint and brushes, manilla rope, scythes, padlocks and chains for cows or dogs. The accounts also show need for slaughtering tools such as hog scrapers, large iron kettles, butcher knives, and lard cans. The purchase of mason tools, wrenches, drills, and varieties of saws were less frequent.[125]

One informant who received his training as a tailor in Italy reported that outside of the numerical system, initial use of the sewing machine, and the language transition he had no difficulty continuing his trade in America.[126] He said the tools were basically the same in kind insofar as they were hand-operated. He even found the use of the wooden paddle-shaped tool called a "paddle" used for pressing steamed clothes in Europe and America.

The son of an immigrant who was a stone mason told me much the same thing.[127] The basic tools—trowel, mason hammer, the line, mortar hoe—were as far as he knew always used and spoken of by his father. The limitations came not in mechanical skills, he indicated, but in the planning of projects that were not simply a cellar wall.

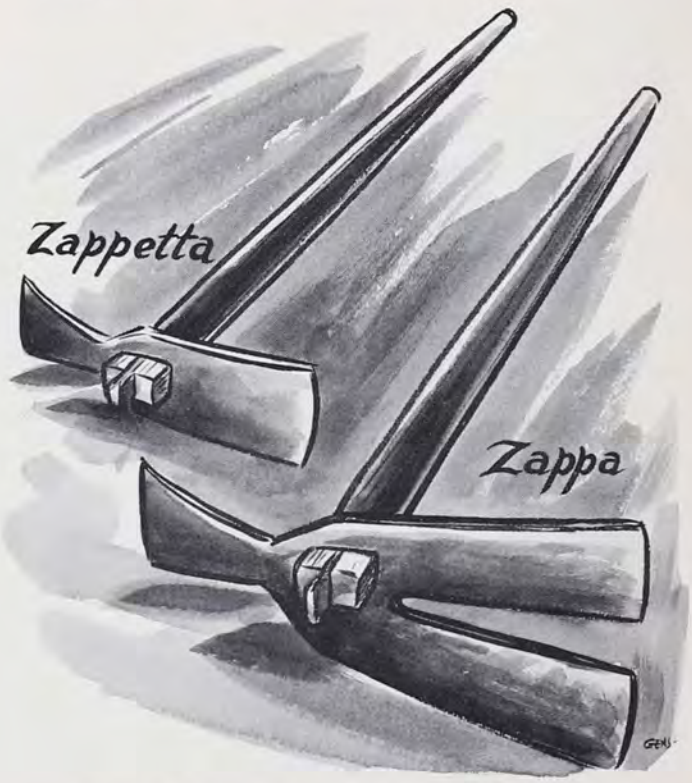
Thomas Reto, on the other hand, seemed to have little trouble establishing himself as a barber. By 1917 he had purchased the necessary shears, razors, and straps.[128] There is probably little comparison between the skills a barber could contribute as compared to the ones a mason or carpenter could. It seems that the latter two could contribute only limited mechanical skills, however.

Certain tools were not purchased from a store but were made locally, e. g., a hatchet made from a stone chisel. The pointed end was flattened and sharpened, a hole was bored into the body of the chisel and a wooden handle was inserted.[129] A *zappa* or *zappone* might be made by the blacksmith at the quarry or by one in the community.[130] It can be seen how the homemade oaken handle was inserted into the tool and then split for the insertion of a wooden peg. The wooden handles were kept expanded by being placed in water for a day or two before being used.[131]

Wash boards were sometimes made of wood. The ridges were made in an oaken board with a wood chisel. The round hollow macaroni were made by means of a long narrow rectangular iron rod pointed on both ends. Well sprinkled with flour, it served as the needed internal mould when the dough was rolled out. Strips of dough or spaghetti were made with a bronze rolling tool having handles and a series of cutting edges circularly filed about the body. The strips were made as this was rolled over flattened dough.

Wine presses were usually purchased, but some were made. The large central twist as well as the turning mechanism were usually made by a local blacksmith. A large and round wooden base was hollowed out to retain the grape mash as the upper board was turned down by means of the twist and turning mechanism. The juice would flow over the slightly raised circumference of the base and into a wooden tub upon which the entire press was rested.[132]

[121] John Gillin, *The Ways of Men* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 351.
[122] Foerster, *Italian Immigration of Our Times*, p. 343.
[123] The informants were consulted on the use of the tools.
[124] *Correll's Hardware Store Ledger*, Pen Argyl, 1910–25, *passim*. The son of the dealer in Bangor—from whom the Rosetan immigrants bought—told me he had no early accounts.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] L.C., February 19, 1962.
[127] A.C., Mason, American, 62, West Bangor, February 12, 1962.
[128] *Correll's Hardware. . . .* p. 589.
[129] J.D.
[130] The large *zappa* or hoe was used to turn over the ground. The *zappetta* or smaller hoe was used for cultivating. The *zappa* was swung high over the head and then down. As the immigrant grew older, he used a garden fork.
[131] N.V., March 18, 1962.
[132] J.C.



ZAPPA AND ZAPPETTA. Italian hoes used by author's grandfather, who started his family in West Bangor about 1910.

SAINT ROCCO'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, WEST BANGOR, 1922

Original Saint Rocco's Catholic Church.

The cook and coffee pots were almost invariably of agate which was enameled ware with gray streaked patterns.[133] There was also the nickel-plated tea-kettle which was always kept boiling and thus providing a ready supply of hot water as well as adding moisture to kitchen air dried from the large wood and coal fires then necessary for heating and cooking.

VII. CLOTHING

I have decided to deal last with the category that might have reflected the first change in the immigrant's standard of living. "The first marked change is the clothing."[134] In this as the other categories I have hoped to look for the influences and conditions determining the nature of the situation at the time. But just as the clothes were put on, I would think that they would be but a covering reflecting deeper ways of thinking and responding. In this category as in housing, however, the immigrant would rely upon the surrounding culture to a great extent. In the New World that reliance could only grow.

Men's clothing was generally purchased at nearby stores, or it was tailor-made. Women's dress was made by an Italian seamstress or else by the women themselves. It was generally agreed that clothing was only purchased when necessary, i.e., when the material could not support patching or when the newer clothes became so worn that they could not be used for dress and so were used for work.

Mr. L. C. who is a tailor believed that the men dressed according to the dominant styles at the time.[135] This was especially true for tailor-made suits. Since the Italians most often bought ready-made suits, however, the style remained mostly unaffected by phase.[136] The phase aspect is somewhat corroborated by others who remember a time when the men were fond of wearing derby hats.[137] According to the weather the men generally wore light or heavy long underwear. Regardless of season, they wore large-brimmed hats or caps of all shapes, short-collared shirts usually buttoned at the neck and often at the sleeves. They often wore wide suspenders and some wore both belts and suspenders. The work shoes were of hard leather and were laced. Dress shoes were of soft leather and were buttoned. The men were rarely seen outside and often inside the house without a cap or hat. For warmth in the winter the men wore boots with wool lining. They wore woolen or leather coats lined with wool. The immigrant, generally speaking, seemed to have a great respect for the substantial worth of wool.

The women made their own clothing or employed seamstresses. The aprons, underclothing, and shawls were usually sewn or knitted by the wearer. The full-piece dresses worn for church attendance and special occasions were made by the seamstress according to the buyer's direction. The easier operations on the dress such as the sewing of the hem were

133 *Correll's Hardware . . . , passim.*
134 Rose, *The Italian in America,* p. 65; or Meade, "Italian on the Land," p. 516.

135 L.C., February 19, 1962.
136 *Ibid.*
137 J.D., J.C.

left for the purchaser in order that she save money. All the informants remember hand sewing-machines in the homes of their parents. Silk was often used in the better dresses. For ordinary wear the women wore two-piece cotton outfits of a variety of colors.

The woolen shawls, also of varying colors, were generally knitted at home or brought from Italy. The shawls served as a head and shoulder covering. In the summer the women usually wore neither a kerchief nor shawl except at mass. One informant, however, remembers his mother's wearing a sun bonnet for working in the garden. It was like the bonnets worn by the Dutch women.[138] The women wore large woolen shawls in the winter.

The children often went barefoot in the summer. The girls wore coats more often than shawls. They, unlike their mothers, often wore kerchiefs. They generally fixed their hair as their mothers did. The quality of the clothes depended on the amount of money there was to spend. The younger children would usually have those clothes their older brothers and sisters had worn. The shoes were repaired at home, of course.

Babies were wrapped in swaddling. A white cotton cloth about six inches wide and about three or four feet long with strings at each end served to roll the baby and tightly secure him.[139] Thus, the baby remained rolled like a "papoose" until he or she was a year old in order to be sure the spine developed correctly.[140] (Mr. J. C. followed this practice with his first child.) The little boys wore dresses until they were accustomed to using the toilet. The busy mother changed her child three or four times a day.[141]

The immigrant thought it important to buy new clothes for a wedding or celebration. The Italian band in Delabole wore uniforms similar to those of the Italian guards—hats with large black plumes set off a bright red and black uniform.[142]

Practically all the women wore small golden earrings that were fastened within the pierced ear lobe. Mr. and Mrs. M. S. told of their uncle who wore a round golden ear-ring, but he was an exception. The only jewelry the men wore was a pocket watch. The women wore the plain wedding band and usually a medal to the Blessed Mother.

The wearing of cosmetics was not practiced by the mothers. The young girls could expect a beating for wearing them. Women generally braided their long hair or wore it in knobs. They used combs and large hard rubber pins to keep the knobs in place.

The men invariably wore mustaches but seldom a beard. The hair styles varied—parted, straight back, even crew cut.[143] They were their own and their children's barber at first, but when they could they went to a barber who was usually an Italian friend.

Bathing was a weekly, not a daily practice. The scarcity of water in Italy and its consequent effect on the immigrant may have been influential in this matter.[144] The early immigrant did not, of course, have inside plumbing.

Shortly after the birth of a female baby it was common for the midwife or the mother herself to pierce the child's ears. A needle was sterilized in boiling water then threaded with silk thread which was dipped in olive oil. The child's ears were pierced and the thread was left in and tied about the lobes. Until the ear was healed, the thread was occasionally moved, so that the skin would not adhere to the string.[145]

I should add that I was unable to find any status differences with regard to dress in the early settlement. Indeed, pretentions to superiority wittingly or unwittingly made were topics of local gossip and scorn.[146]

MAP OF ROSETO BOROUGH, BY MICHAEL POLICELLI, BOROUGH SURVEYOR. Note Italian street-names: Garibaldi, Ronca, Falcone, Marconi, and Martino.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The Italian immigrant coming into the rural area of Northampton County carried with him certain needs that he consciously or unconsciously expected to satisfy in ways customary to him. He probably came into the area because an agency in New York directed him there to work in a quarry, cement mill, on a road or trolley line. There were, no doubt, friends, relatives or *paesani* who might have written to him, as well. Even if he expected to return to Italy, he needed a job as a trademan or laborer. If he planned to stay, he wanted to establish a home for his family or settle down and send for his wife or sweetheart as soon as possible. He would naturally seek his compatriots for friendship and for help. He would be concerned with religious devotion and to some extent with the complex of superstitions familiar to his peasant background. His lack of education and his being thrust into new surroundings would mean, it seems, that he would tend to imitate things as he found them. That he found a settlement by his compatriots, would make his adjustment easier. (Indeed, the fresh immigrant would have to be first

138 J.C., There were Dutch settlements south of Bangor. The informant thought that a Dutch huckster sold the bonnet to his mother.

139 Mrs. M.S.

140 *Ibid.*

141 *Ibid.*

142 J.C., Delabole was a very small Italian settlement along Route 702 directly south of West Bangor.

143 J.D.

144 Williams, *South Italian Folkways . . . ,* pp. 2–3.

145 Mrs. M.S.

146 Mr. and Mrs. C.S., February 17, 1962; also, J.D.

THE ROSETO POST-OFFICE, ERECTED 1898

acculturated and then assimilated into the Italian settlement as that settlement had been and continued to be acculturated and assimilated into the American culture.)

The immigrant gravitated to an isolated settlement because he wanted it that way and because the circumstances of housing and a not overly friendly host culture offered him little choice. The Italian village settlement offered the immigrant an opportunity to carry on his customary ways. That the immigrants were able to seclude themselves is an essential consideration for any statements on acculturation. The surrounding culture penetrated the early rural settlement, it seems to me, at those cultural facets where the immigrant had to fulfill his immediate needs and where for one reason or another he could not continue to realize the life he had known in Italy.

I shall attempt to develop these points by first briefly sketching the early life of the Italian community. Then, I shall sketch how that life depended upon and became accessible to the surrounding culture and also how the influence of the Italian priest, DeNisco, moved the Rosetan community from within. The first point deals with the Italians' natural attempt to continue their old ways of thinking, believing, and acting in the context of the new environment. The breakdown of those ways inherent in the minds of many of the more forward looking immigrants as well as in the nature of the new environment embraces the second point. Within this general scheme certain considerations will emerge, I trust, comprehending "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous . . . contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."[147]

[147] Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation:* The Study of Culture Contact (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938), p. 10.

The isolation of the rural settlements in the area I take as a fairly legitimate assumption. Talking with elderly American informants living in Bangor or Pen Argyl assures me that the Italian settlements were in a sense "off-limits." There was even an absence of police protection. A black hand gang was free to terrorize West Bangor for about four years until the gang committed a murder in 1913. Certain Italians in the West Bangor area had asked previously for police protection.

The isolated community life would assure the Italians many of the communal aspects to which they had been accustomed and which they would need in the new environment. The Italians and their children could have conceivably continued for many years much as will be described. This is pointed out to accent the realization of how integral the early settlement was in some ways.

Within the community the Italian would have the companionship of *paesani,* relatives, close friends, and *compari.* They would help one another and so save the precious dollars. There was a common effort in butchering, building a shed, celebrating *carnevale,* or having the "big time." The Italians would visit each other and reminisce about their lives in Italy. Village life was cooperative life. Payment for help given was never in money. It was assumed that the village was a mutually beneficial organ. Payment might be in wine, a good meal, or an unmentioned assurance that the favor would be returned.

Village life was also familiar life. Everybody in town called each other by a first name with often a *compare* prefixed. Any attempt at status distinction brought scorn. If there was a death in one family, the whole community responded with money and sympathy. There were always some men to offer to dig the grave. Should a child be wayward in any way, he or she was the object of communal sanction. The woman next door might know how to "exorcise" the Evil Eye. If a misfortune came, certainly someone had had a premonition. Theories would be invented or imagined and passed around concerning a birthmark or even a ghost somebody saw. At *carnevale* a few convivials would go about dressed as women and would be accompanied by a little orchestra.

If the young man was not already married, he usually had a sweetheart in Italy or one in the community. (Marriage between those of Italian and non-Italian stocks was not to be common until the third generation.) The village offered a cooperative and helpful environment for the family. After securing his own plot of village land the father was supreme. A pig or two, some chickens, the garden, some fruit trees, the grape arbor were the sources of strong supplementation to the daily meals. The women strengthened the self-reliance of the family—not by working at a factory—but in canning, helping in the garden, sewing most of the clothes, etc. The children helped maintain the household. They were looked on quite unabashedly as a resource to help pay, for example, the debt on the house. They were obedient because they learned early the power and authority of the father. They would not think of leaving the homestead, at least not until they were ready to be married. Thus, the father retained his central authority hardly diminished in America.

The father or mother or both were usually dedicated to a saint or to the Blessed Mother. Family life was strongly religious. Personal prayers were directed to the patron who was seen as a personal friend and guide. There were religious images about the house and almost every immigrant had a rosary. The christenings, marriages, funerals, proces-

sions, and celebrations were central events in which the families participated as units.

The Catholic Church was an Italian Church with an Italian priest or one who could speak Italian. This was of inestimable importance to the continuance of the immigrant's custom and so his peace of mind. He could hear sermons in Italian and understand his penance at the confessional. His identification, his personal worth, was with the little village as he and his friends prepared for the annual celebration and procession. His church, like himself, was dedicated to Saint Rocco or to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. As he walked in procession there was no group foreign to him that would jeer and poke fun. This was essentially true for those who lived outside the isolated settlements, for they visited and joined with their compatriots in the important community events.

Such was the settlement continuing to realize its background in the environment of a rural and isolated area. This settlement as described could be considered as the basic subculture that would adopt innovations and that would for various reasons be accessible to and prompted to change or modification. The settlement could conceivably adopt innovations in clothing, housing, and tools, and still retain its traditional patterns in the family, church, and ceremony. This did not happen with the succeeding generations, certainly, nor was it the situation in the early settlement. I shall first mention the innovations adopted from the surrounding culture and then consider some of the disruptive influences as well as the directional work of De Nisco.

The churches which represented a communal effort were not designed by the immigrants. The immigrants as far as I can tell had neither the technical skill nor the money to build churches as they had seen them in Italy. The immigrants of Martins Creek did not even contribute to the upkeep of a structure donated to them. It is true, however, that the second structures in Roseto and Martins Creek were substantial buildings, but they reflected Italian labor and contributions, not overall design. The stone structure in West Bangor was partially planned by an immigrant. This individual was more educated than most immigrants, but he like most of them labored in a nearby quarry. It would seem that what technical skills the Italians were able to contribute were repressed by their own limitations, their immediate need and poverty overshadowing originality or carry over, and their being influenced by a comparatively strong and readily available native technology.

The immigrant either bought or had a house built that was quite dissimilar to what he had known in Italy. He needed, I assume, a home quickly, inexpensively, and one that was like those he saw in the area. He would determine where the residential and nonresidential buildings would be located. An Italian stone mason would wall up the cellar and the cistern. The immigrant would build his arbor as he had seen his father build his, though the immigrant would use wire from the quarry. The blacksmith at the quarry or in the village would make the *zappa* as well as other tools the immigrant could not buy. The Italian would obtain a great amount of clothing in the stores as well as some food. Most importantly his job and that of his children were dependent upon the surrounding culture.

In themselves, the fulfillment of these needs and the adaptation of certain innovations would, it seems to me, strengthen the basic nontechnical subculture of the isolated Italian settlements. In fact, it seems that the surrounding culture initially aided the Italians to establish their basic subculture. The American carpenters, employers, blacksmiths, contractors, storekeepers (and even Italian tradesmen dependent upon American techniques) all made the psychological transplant easier for the Italian to establish life as he knew it in Italy. American animosity and prejudice (which was prevalent) would even serve to draw the Italians closer together.

It is true, however, that the Italians' adaptation of American innovations would begin to prepare them psychologically to appreciate American culture. Indeed, that appreciation on the part of the Italians might begin to overshadow their value and respect for their own culture. They would begin to see, for example, how much simpler it was to buy a new dress or how complex were the techniques of American building. The animosity would find its outlet and object in attempting to outdo the American in terms not of the immigrant but of the American culture. These were in a sense psychological seeds that would in American soil sprout in succeeding generations. The "seeds" can be seen more easily by considering the extent of readiness within the settlement to change.

Change is to be distinguished from merely the addition[148] of American innovations to the basic subculture as described. I consider, for example, the use of wire in the building of the arbor and even the adoption of American housing as additions within the basic transplant as previously outlined. The Italians in their original setting were, as I have mentioned, strengthened in the carryover of their family and religious life. American technology made possible a relatively quick material environment for the peasant to continue life as he knew it. It should be pointed out in this connection that the immigrants were mostly peasant farmers coming from small Italian villages wherein the housing and employment had most likely been in existence for generations.

Change was actually the constant experience of the immigrant and his settlement. But I think a period of a few years can be taken (at least for the purposes of analysis) in each of the communities when they existed as a relatively isolated Italian transplant much as I described. Their accessibility to American culture was steadily growing in a variety of ways even as they were isolated. All I shall try to do is consider the culminations of that accessibility which when considered in themselves only seem distinct and arbitrarily labeled as changes to be distinguished from additions.

The beginnings of change came, it seems to me, with the entrance of Protestantism, the work of De Nisco, the incorporation of Roseto, and the establishment of the blouse industry. These are more or less confined to the early years and do not include other factors such as the influence of the American culture upon those living in American towns though most of those lived in that area of Bangor closely adjoining Roseto. The influence of education—both formal and informal—would be another consideration. After sketching the changes as indicated I shall briefly consider the success of the transplant.

The Catholic Church did not establish a parish in Roseto until 1897, some nine years after the community started. There was no parish priest in West Bangor until the early 1920's. Before these periods the settlements may not have been large enough to support parishes. This left, however, a need of the Italians inadequately fulfilled, and the need

[148] I am indebted to Professor Ruben E. Reina for explaining (in an interview March 29, 1962) the theoretical distinction between additions and change. The application, such as it is, is of course my own attempt.

was probably not only religious. On the basis of this need, I assume, the surrounding culture—the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches—was able to enter the isolated settlements and find in some quarters a lively reception. The Presbyterian minister was able to profit from the absence of a Catholic parish, from any animosity or indifference toward Catholicism, and from the controversy over where the Catholic church should have been located. The Episcopalian minister in providing not only spiritual help to the immigrants was able to gather a following.

While it is true that the Protestant movements in Roseto and West Bangor were fairly small and even closely related to Catholicism if not in practice at least in antagonism, the movements were, I believe, a definite departure from the relatively integral community as described.

Father De Nisco was able at Roseto (in view of the potential there) to become more than a spiritual leader. (The missionaries or priests in Roseto—until his arrival—and in the other communities seemed to have been mainly concerned with a priestly function.) De Nisco met the traditional need of the people for the established faith. Religious societies were started to encourage frequent reception of the sacraments. The Presbyterian Church of Roseto by 1912, as mentioned previously, was complaining because the original members were getting old or were moving away.

If the psychological crux of acculturation is learning and learning only takes place with some drive or motivation,[149] then De Nisco's work was effective insofar as he provided motivation or goals and the people responded. The Priest, for instance, led the immigrant workers in strikes—something they most likely would not have attempted on their own. He provided an incentive for the immigrants to beautify their homes by offering a prize for the best shrubbery. Most notably, he helped many immigrants to become American citizens. Through him the people could retain those ways of believing and acting they believed important as Italian peasants and still through him rise to meet many of the conditions of their new environment. Thus, he provided leadership from within the context of an Italian immigrant settlement. Such leadership was probably more suitable and more effective than outside influences that were not also within the context of the Italian tradition.

Father De Nisco could not have been at all successful unless what he desired for the community at least some members also desired. Such organizations as the Saint Phillip Neri Society and the Marconi Club did foster new and important goals. The former (1898) was religiously motivated and fostered the teaching of religion, but it also became interested in political parties and parliamentary procedure. The Marconi Club (1910) urged its members to become American citizens, but left them free to profess their own religious and political preferences.

The steady growth of Roseto enabled it to incorporate into a borough in 1912. Once the town became large enough, incorporation was probably inevitable because of the influence of De Nisco; the isolated location of the town; its homogeneity deriving from Roseto, Italy; and the village pride and desire to found schools, community organizations, and have community identification for its locally famous bands and athletic teams. The incorporation of Roseto was not so much a change from the basic subculture as its logical culmination. This may have been a unique accident because the incorporation of an Italian settlement in the United States has, at least until 1935, not been duplicated. The Italian stocks in West Bangor, Martins Creek, and Delabole were not as homogeneous as those of Roseto nor were they ever to approach the size of Roseto. Among the settlements discussed Roseto does seem more definitely to retain many aspects of its Italian heritage.

It is difficult to avoid mentioning an aspect that has not been directly treated, namely, the economic. There were by 1913 two blouse factories in Roseto and by 1920 at least one in West Bangor. These were among the first of approximately one hundred to follow. The area was accessible to this industry for a variety of reasons. Large silk mills in the area moved to the South. The demand for slate gradually diminished. The flow of immigration into the area meant a larger supply of labor. The garment interests of New York City were able with the improvements in transportation to capitalize on these conditions. They would operate in conjunction with area businessmen by designing the blouses, sending the material to the area factories to be sewn together, and upon the return of the blouses having them distributed. (Within recent years the blouse contractors have formed an association to deal with the garment union. The members and directors of the association are almost entirely the sons and grandsons of Italian immigrants.)

The young children of the immigrants found employment in the blouse mills as well as the quarries. They would come to learn that money could buy already prepared the foodstuffs their parents were raising. Indeed, the parents would gradually learn about the conveniences of American culture. They would continue to work in the garden but with a garden fork instead of the heavy *zappa*. The grape arbors would eventually be cut down because they were unattractive, gathered too many mosquitoes, and produced inferior grapes—inferior to the California grapes that could easily be purchased. After a time they would discontinue to raise a pig or even chickens. The children would learn in school (and might try to tell their parents about) the ridiculousness of the Evil Eye, the premonitions, the explanations of birthmarks, or the signs for planting. West Bangor and Martins Creek would eventually discontinue the annual celebration and procession. All the ramifications of community cooperation and family integrity implicit in the early settlement would but be altered in the context of these and other conditions within the ensuing years. The history of these alterations, however, is much too complex to be considered in a few sentences.

The early settlement from the Italian point of view was successful in many ways. The immigrants were able to adopt innovations from the surrounding culture and thereby establish within a readily available material environment the kind of culture they believed important. The dignity of the Italian family was preserved, I believe, in the rural settlement. The father retained his headship and was able to command respect from his children. This respect was important for the children and the father—for the father because without that respect he might not have worked as hard and as faithfully as he did, and for the children because without respect and obedience they would not have made the transplant as successful as it was nor would have they esteemed those religious, social, and moral values that the father and mother esteemed. This is, of course, a personal impression to which there were exceptions.

The reasons remained clouded as to why the entrance of Protestantism was effected into an atmosphere that would traditionally preclude that entrance. The existence of Prot-

[149] A. Irving Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 171–180, *passim*.

estantism within the Italian community itself may have forced it to realize the variformed nature of American society. The scope of the Italian Marconi Club locally reflected a value of American society—freedom of religion—in that it would have the members free to profess their individual religious faiths.

The early community life was certainly cooperative at a time when it needed to be. Cooperation among the members of the community enabled the immigrants to have and maintain a home despite their poverty. The moral and spiritual value of mutual help and interest manifested most, perhaps, in the incorporation of Roseto, was largely beneficial.

The strong community orientation on the part of the Italians probably did intensify the prejudices they and the Americans held for one another. Such prejudices were not helpful to the immigrant at his work. Intermarriage was certainly not promoted by the conditions of cultural isolation. Nor would the inbred prejudice within the Italian settlements be the best community gift to the second and third generations.

Certain effects of poverty were unfortunate. Necessity meant that the immigrants' children would have to leave school at an early age. Lack of resources and education on the part of the immigrants meant that community cooperation remained at a limited level. Village projects such as the construction of a church depended upon the technical skill and sometimes the funds of the surrounding culture.

The success of the early transplant can also be considered from a present-day standpoint. The society of the whole rural area of Northampton County no doubt has roots in the early contact of the two cultures. It would be interesting to try to analyze what aspects the two societies have borrowed from each other and what they have not as well as the modifications of the borrowing. This is, of course, another story that would involve not only two cultures.

I said earlier that Roseto seems to retain more of the basic subculture than the other communities. This too is another inquiry. But Roseto, of all the communities, continues to have an annual celebration and procession. It is of predominantly Italian stock and certainly the town offices are held by Italians. There is a parochial grade and high school. The dominance of the blouse industry in the area indicates that the economic system of the town is fairly indigenous.

This year Roseto is celebrating its fiftieth year of incorporation. The men are growing mustaches by town ordinance. There will be an "Italy Day" when the *paesani* will try to dress and behave as did their parents and grandparents. There will be a prominent speaker of Italian descent.

An old Italian who is dead now once told me (in simpler language, of course) that the individuals who can best judge the value of the Italian transplant are its successors. He said that when they do or do not affirm their heritage, they have judged.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The most important single group of sources for the paper has been the informants. The most useful guide that I found for dealing with them was the book, *The Study of Culture at a Distance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) by Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux. The work pointed out that the testimonies of the informants should have congruence and probability within the context of the whole range of testimonies and other sources. More importantly, the authors distinguished culture from subculture. Their theories formed a large part of my thinking concerning a national group with a relatively stable pattern of behavior as contrasted with a transitional group wherein both parents and children are learning new patterns of behavior.

Among the public documents used, the *Hearing on the Estate of DeNisco* was the most interesting and helpful. In this hearing and in another (that I could not use), the explanations of the witnesses involved value judgments that were not bound up exclusively with financial accounts.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I looked to works on Italian immigration and culture to give initial direction to the study. I found Phyllis H. Williams' *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938) as an invaluable background to the study of Italian culture in Italy. She considers categories such as housing, dress, or the family both in Italy and in America. The "In Italy" section of each chapter is based "extensively" upon a twenty-five volume study of Italian folklore by Dr. Giuseppe Pitré published from 1871 to 1913, so that the purely Italian aspect of her study is a suitable indication of the immigrants' heritage. The parts of her volume dealing with the scene in America are based upon firsthand information concerning the most significant adjustments of the Italians in America.

Probably the best treatment of Italian immigration as a world movement is Robert Foerster's *The Italian Immigration of Our Times* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919). His treatment is mainly economic, but since he seems to know the Italian culture so well he is able to make penetrating comments on the life of the immigrant from firsthand observations during the period of immigration.

The distinctions between primitive society and peasant society are considered by Robert Redfield in *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956). His insights on the elements of the great tradition and the local beliefs within a peasant society gave directions to a study of the group considered—from one standpoint—as a peasant community.

I have tried to draw my own conclusions, such as they are, on acculturation. There were certain accounts that precipitated and settled what observations I was able to make—notably, *Acculturation* by Melville J. Herskovits (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938) and Herskovits and A. Irving Hallowell in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945). Herskovits' book first drew distinctions between acculturation, diffusion, and assimilation. He pointed out the necessity of an accumulation of facts on the processes of acculturation as well as only giving the historical antecedents of the processes. His contribution in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, entitled "The Processes of Cultural Change," shows among many other points how an innovation cannot be made if the culture is not prepared for it. His observations on the close relationships between change and the dominant concern of a culture were also helpful. Hallowell's contribution, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," argued that the kind of social learning that is typical of acculturation processes is imitative learning which is motivated.

Dr. Ruben E. Reina (interview, March 29, 1962) pointed out the difference between the mere addition of aspects from the surrounding culture and the actual changes or implicit changes in the underlying assumptions of the receiving culture.

What limitations and failings there are in my study are, of course, entirely my own. I regret that I did not and in some instances found I was not able to more closely analyze the processes of acculturation.